*Workers of the World, Unite!*

# THE MILITANT

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**INSIDER BARES DETAILS ON STALIN PURGE TRIALS**

(See Page 3)

# Eisenhower Threatens Atomic War If Demands Are Not Met

## Socialist Worker Candidates Win Good L.A. Vote

By Della Rossa, Campaign Manager

LOS ANGELES, April 7 — Reaching hundreds of thousands with a clear-cut program against the Korean war and for a Labor Party, and drawing in contacts and recruits, the Socialist Workers Party local here today concluded one of its most effective election campaigns with the highest vote it has yet received in a mayoralty race.

It is felt here that the vote of 3,542 received by Myra Tanner Weiss for mayor — more than double her 1949 vote of 1,506 — was a conscious vote because her unambiguous stand to withdraw the troops from Korea and stop the witch hunt, and for a Labor Party and a socialist Workers and Farmers Government reached a vast audience through three radio and six television appearances.

If it were not for the "lesser evil" poison several thousand more votes would have been cast for the SWP mayoralty candidate. **This is indicated by the excellent showing made by Robert Morgan, Mrs. Weiss's running mate and candidate for Board of Education Office No. 6, who ran fourth in a field of 11 with 12,588 votes.**

The weight of the "lesser evil" theory was particularly heavy in this campaign with official labor endorsement going to Republican Mayor Fletcher Bowron, the 15-year incumbent. The Communist Party lured further support to Bowron from radical and middle-class elements through its backing of "labor-endorsed" candidates.

**SWP VOTE SIGNIFICANT**

This year's vote for Myra Weiss is higher than in her 1945 and 1949 campaigns even though the general vote pattern is a reactionary one, with the anti-housing Congressman Norris Poulson receiving a 32,885 vote lead over Bowron. The significance of the socialist vote is seen in the distribution of the 479,880 votes cast for the five candidates and their backgrounds:

| | |
|---|---|
| Poulson, congressman | 211,247 |
| Bowron, incumbent mayor | 178,362 |
| Lloyd Aldrich, City Engineer | 70,459 |
| Paul Burke, President, Board of Education | 16,470 |
| Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party | 3,542 |

## Chicago FE-UE Gains Victory in Bargaining Poll

**CHICAGO — Local 107 of the Farm Equipment - United Electrical Workers Union won a smashing victory over the CIO United Automobile Workers in the representation election April 7 at International Harvester Co.'s West Pullman Works here. This is the 25th straight time the Mid-West Organizing Committee of UAW-CIO has been defeated in its raiding of FE-UE locals.**

Following this latest defeat, UAW representatives notified the Labor Board they were withdrawing from the election against FE-UE at the IH Farmall Works. This leaves only the McCormick plant unsettled.

At West Pullman, of 2,237 maintenance and production workers, 1,277 cast ballots for FE-UE and 573 for UAW. FE also won the Millwrights. There will be a run-off between IAM and FE for the Tool Room. Fourteen carpenters and 13 plumbers were won by the AFL.

FE-UE recently led the Harvester workers through an 87-day bitter strike. The workers sustained a moral victory as they retained their union but were forced to accept a worse contract. The company has been cutting wages and speeding up. It is hoped that UAW's withdrawal from Farmall means it will unite with FE in the struggle against their common enemy — the company with its union-busting policy.

## TWIN CITIES, CHICAGO SET PACE IN SUB DRIVE

By Dorothy Johnson, Campaign Manager

The fourth week of the **Militant** Subscription Campaign brought in 72 subs, the best gain being made by the **Twin Cities** who sold 24 subs and 40 single copies, adding, 1,080 points to their score. The energetic Twin Cities comrades hold the national lead for the third consecutive week in the campaign.

**Detroit** moved from eleventh to sixth place on the national scoreboard this week, and **Los Angeles** forged ahead with a gain of 632 points. Los Angeles Campaign Manager **S. Stern** reports that the comrades have decided to extend their local campaign an additional two weeks.

**Chicago** continues to hold second place on the national scoreboard. This week a gain of 543 points increased their lead over New York by 145. Literature Agent **Jacki Booth** writes, "Although we will in all likelihood reach our goal of 50 subs in the next few days, we plan to accelerate our activities rather than let up. For April 26, we have planned an all-out sale to wind up the campaign.

"This week our main concentration was on single-copy sales of **The Militant.** In the past three days **Alice, Marj** and **Jacki** sold 56 papers at Harvester; **Don** sold six at a Packinghouse local; and 41 **Militants** and four copies of **Fourth International** were sold at an NAACP meeting by **Jules, Frank** and **Elaine. Mary Lou, Kenny, Dee** and **George** sold papers door to door Sunday and plan to go back next week in an attempt to turn these single sales into subs."

The competitive spirit and enthusiasm of the **Twin Cities** campaign is reflected in the fact that the first four national pacesetters are from Minneapolis and St. Paul. Literature Agent **Helen Sherman** writes, "Twenty subs from Minneapolis this week — **Evie** brought in eight of these, all one-year, and brought the Coover Scouts out of the cellar into first place in the Twin Cities contest. Evie, also heads the list of Twin Cities pace-setters with 520 points. **Milt** is second with 398 points, **Ray** is a close third with

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*Straws in the Wind*

**NEWS ITEM: Letters continue to pour into the White House urging, "Bring our boys home from Korea."**

## NEW EVIDENCE IN ROSENBERG CASE SHOWS "TABLE" STORY WAS FALSE

Another piece of evidence has come to light in the Rosenberg case, tightening the factual network which shows how the prosecution used faked and perjured evidence to obtain its "spy" conviction. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are now in the Sing Sing death house, as a last-minute appeal is being made to the Supreme Court for a review of the evidence and a new trial.

The "console table" allegedly given to the Rosenbergs "by the Russians" has been located, and the facts about the table substantiate all the testimony given at the trial by Julius Rosenberg and show the testimony of government witnesses to be fake.

During the trial, David and Ruth Greenglass stated that they had been "told" by the Rosenbergs that a "console table" had been given to them as a gift in payment for spying, and that it had been fitted out for microfilm photography. Atomic scientist Harold C. Urey pointed to the ludicrous aspects of this testimony when he said in an appeal to the court that it is hardly customary for "spies" to be paid off in "wrist watches and console tables." The Rosenbergs testified that they had a console table, but that it was purchased from Macy's in 1944 or 1945 "for about $21," and was in no way specially equipped for photography.

Government prosecutor Irving Saypol ridiculed this, saying that such a table could not be purchased from Macy's at that date "for less than $85." The prosecution did not present the table in evidence, and, to the best knowledge of the defense, it had been junked along with the rest of the Rosenbergs' shabby furniture six months before the trial, when it was not known that it would be used as "evidence."

A recent chance remark brought to light the fact that the table had not been junked, but, along with a few items of kitchen equipment, had been stored in a basement until recently, when it was used to furnish an apartment for Julius Rosenberg's mother and the Rosenbergs' two young children. The table, found to be ordinary in every way, was checked with the records of Macy's, and an affidavit secured with the aid of Macy's legal department which says the following:

(1) That the table "is of a type and style which was handled and sold by Macy's" during 1944 and 1945.

(2) The markings on the underside of the table are in Macy's code, and appear to indicate that the table was sold during 1944 or subsequent to that time for $20.37.

The failure of the government to avail itself of the table while it was still in the apartment and thus under its control indicates that the story of a "console table" was not in the original versions of the stories told by David and Ruth Greenglass. It appears to have been added to their tale later, perhaps under pressure to tell in what way the Rosenbergs were paid off for their alleged "spying." Since neither the Greenglasses nor the government were able to show that the Rosenbergs possessed any important financial assets, the government witnesses may have, in casting about in their minds for some items of personal property acquired during the period when the Rosenbergs were supposed to be "spying," seized upon the "console table."

## Won't Bring Troops Home Despite Any Armistice Reached in Korea

By Art Preis

**The Militant last week emphasized that the current truce moves will mean, at best, only a temporary cessation of military operations in Korea. There will be no real peace and American troops will not come home. Eisenhower has no intention of fulfilling his election promises to the American people.**

**Every new development affirms our warnings. Eisenhower himself, in his April 16 "peace" speech, announced the price he insists upon in the way of concessions from the Soviet Union and the "Communist world" for a firm agreement. They add up to a series of provocative demands nicely calculated to put the greatest obstacles in the way of peace.**

In the main these demands, with minor variations, are precisely those we said were being cooked up by the Eisenhower administration. Eisenhower aims to utilize any truce period as a breathing spell during which to try to squeeze every last possible concession from the Soviet Union and China, while building up diplomatic and military advantages, strengthening armies, beating back colonial uprisings in Southeast Asia and Africa and preparing for Wall Street's atomic war of world conquest.

Eisenhower said a Korean truce would be only a "first step" toward peace and would be merely a "fraud" if it were not followed immediately by political talks leading to "free elections" in Korea and if the "new leaders of the Soviet Union" did not use their "influence with the Communist world" to "halt the flow of arms" to the national independence fighters in Indo-China, Malaya, etc.

His demands also included an Austrian treaty; that is, agreement by the Soviet government to withdraw its troops. He also called for unification of Germany under U.S. domination, and "free choice" of their own governments and economic systems in the Eastern European countries allied with the Soviet Union. The alternative to this, Eisenhower threatened, was atomic war against the Soviet Union. These demands add up to the restoration of capitalist control of all Europe and the establishment of imperialist armed forces within striking distance of the heart of the Soviet Union.

**What the outcome of the truce moves will be remains speculative. The real negotiations are going on in secret diplomacy behind locked doors guarded from the view of the world. The speculations of newspaper columnists, the planted "news," the double-talk public statements of government officials, from Eisenhower on down, are intended to conceal rather than reveal true aims. They are a smokescreen through which it is difficult for anyone to penetrate.**

**"SLOW, PIECEMEAL. . . "**

We can be certain, however, of the limitations of a cease-fire in Korea. **Newsweek** of April 20 reveals: "High U.S. military authorities privately are warning Congress: that a state of war will continue in Korea for a long time even if a truce is signed — and that U.S. troops can be brought home only on a slow, piecemeal basis. . . The Pentagon emphasizes that, even though a Korean truce may be reached quickly, a final settlement is still far away, with Red negotiators likely to balk long and hard at some U.S. demands."

**These demands, it must be stressed, are deliberately designed to make the Soviet government and its allies balk. This would then provide the pretext for the Wall Street - Pentagon gang to shout still louder that the other side doesn't want peace and that we have to go to war against them.**

But the whole policy of the Big Business-Big Brass crew in Washington up to now has been so brazenly aggressive and warlike that the entire world is convinced that the threat of atomic war comes from the American capitalist class.

"To slam the door" on Kremlin peace offers, writes the April 12

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## KIEZEL TOURS UNIONS IN OAKLAND CAMPAIGN

**OAKLAND, Calif., April 12 — Mrs. Lillian Kiezel, Anti-War candidate for mayor sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, in the past week stepped up her campaign to bring the SWP working-class program to every labor and civic group here before the April 21 elections.**

In the last few days she has addressed two more AFL locals and CIO Steelworkers Local 1304, where she received a fine response and prolonged applause. She has spoken before nine unions all told so far, including CIO United Auto Workers Local 1031 which gave her an ovation.

She has also received friendly receptions this week in talks before 12 civic groups. At the Lafayette club she was given sustained applause after her talk on "The Peace Jitters" of the American capitalists.

**On April 20, Mrs. Kiezel will participate in a round-table discussion over KROW, one of the largest radio stations in the Bay Area. She has already had one election broadcast over this station when she spoke against the war.**

**STALINISTS INTERFERE**

Stalinist elements tried frantically to prevent Mrs. Kiezel from speaking before Local 6 of the Warehousemen's union. A young rank-and-filer touched off a long debate when he asked why she wasn't being allowed to speak. The chairman claimed she hadn't appeared before their legislative committee. Mrs. Kiezel, outraged at this lie, marched up to the mike and revealed she had appeared before the committee.

The Stalinist hacks then hit the mike to prevent her speaking further. The chairman yelled, "I don't support her and I don't think she should speak." But the membership was shouting, "Let her talk!" The hacks succeeded in putting her talk off for an hour, although the members had just been forced to listen for an hour to some "progressive" the hacks supported.

**STREET MEETINGS**

Today Mrs. Kiezel spent several hours speaking at street corners in the Negro community in West Oakland. She explained her program against segregation in any form, for full equality and for an FEPC in Oakland.

A sound truck is touring the streets with the slogan, "Vote for Lillian Kiezel, the Socialist Anti-War Candidate." Her supporters plan to distribute a leaflet, "For an Independent Labor Party," to every union meeting in town. Two other leaflets, "For an FEPC in Oakland," and "Against the Housing Loyalty Oath" are being distributed door-to-door in appropriate neighborhoods.

LILLIAN KIEZEL

# What Kremlin Reversal on MDs Case Reveals

By John G. Wright

**Beria's reversal in the case of 15 eminent Soviet physicians "and others" accused of wrecking, espionage and murder contained many annihilating admissions. It confirmed, first of all, that anti-Semitism was employed in the case. This had been vociferously denied by American Stalinists, the Daily Worker, Monthly Review, etc., not to mention the Soviet and Cominform press. Now they sing a somewhat different tune. In fact, Pravda's April 6 editorial admitted that an "attempt" was made "to kindle national enmity in Soviet society," that is, to engage in racial persecution.**

A second admission was that a frameup had indeed been staged. The **Pravda** editorial actually used the Russian equivalent of the term "frameup." **Pravda** did it once in posing the ticklish question: "How did it happen that this provocation . . . was **framed**. . . ?" And the second time in giving the official alibi, namely: "Contemptible adventurers . . . tried, by means of the case they **framed**, to kindle national enmity in Soviet society, etc." (Our emphasis.)

Next came the equally deadly admission that the confessions, widely cited by the Soviet press, were extorted by "impermissible methods," that is by means of physical and moral torture (Beria's April 4 decree; **Pravda**, April 6).

In view of these and other admissions it is hardly surprising that the Malenkov regime and its foreign agencies seek to minimize the significance and scope of Beria's reversal. The Kremlin liars now pretend that the entire responsibility rests on a few members of the former Ministry of State Security. Ignatiev, ex-Minister of Security, ex-party Secretary, ex-Member of Stalin's Presidium, etc., is pronounced guilty of "political blindness and gullibility." Singled out as the chief scapegoat is one Ryumin, Ignatiev's former deputy. Along with "a number of other officials of the Ministry of State Security," Ryumin is denounced as "a concealed enemy of our state and of our people."

With this fig-leaf Malenkov & Co. hope to cover up their nakedness. But the case of the Soviet physicians was not an isolated one. It signalled an **All-Union** purge; it was accompanied by an **All-Union** campaign which was then picked up by the entire Cominform press. It was even deemed important enough to solicit a denunciation of the "doctor-murderers" by Peking. **Measures of this kind, campaigns of such scope cannot be carried out in the USSR without prior orders, without the approval and knowledge of the highest party and government bodies. In this case, from Stalin on down.**

There is no lack of evidence to prove it. Here are a few of the salient facts.

The news of the exposure of "doctor-murderers" was released thru Stalin's secretariat, not by any security agency, the latter being charged with "negligence." This Jan. 13 communication bore a General's signature. Other Soviet generals were involved as the alleged or intended victims of the plotters. Thus the party and the army took a leading part in the frameup.

Mikhailov, main speaker at the January 1953 Lenin Memorial Meeting at Moscow, made prominent reference to the case. "We still have," he declared, "transmitters of bourgeois views and bourgeois morals — **living men**, hidden enemies of our people. . . Convincing proof of this is the case of the group of physician-wreckers — despicable spies and murderers who hid behind the mask of physicians and sold themselves to slaveholders and cannibals from the United States and Britain." **"Convincing proof,"** affirmed Mikhailov, speaking not only for himself but for the Kremlin Big Chiefs.

Not only the party and the army but the Council of Ministers was also implicated. For it was by this Council's special decree that Lydia F. Timashuk was awarded the highest Soviet decoration. "The news of awarding to L. F. Timashuk the highest award — the Order of Lenin for her aid in exposing the thrice-cursed doctor-murderers has winged its way through our country," said **Pravda** on Feb. 20.

Ignatiev, today's scapegoat, was promoted in January to the post of Minister of State Security, elected Deputy to the Moscow Soviet in February, a meteoric rise. Lydia Timashuk was the wife of Prof. M. B. Kogan, one of the victims. She turned witness against him. Again, Stalin's own signature appears indelibly in this favorite device of breaking down his victims' resistance by means of a close relative or intimate friend. One more deadly revelation as a consequence of Beria's reversal.

The award to Timashuk has since been "withdrawn." This was done, naturally, to absolve Stalin's "heirs." But there is one thing, among others, that Malenkov & Co. cannot wipe from the record, nor from the minds of the Soviet people. And that is the nationwide campaign they conducted, under Stalin's baton, to convert Timashuk into "a symbol of Soviet patriotism."

By Feb. 20 **Pravda** was able to boast: "Only recently we did not know about this woman, but today the name of Lydia Feodosyevna Timashuk has become the symbol of Soviet patriotism, the symbol of high vigilance, of irreconcilable, courageous struggle with the enemies of our Motherland."

**Pravda** listed enthusiastic mass response to this campaign: "From Irkutsk to Riga, from Leningrad to Simferopol, from Minsk to Klaipeda — Far East sailors write, so do Donabs miners, and warrior-guards of our borders, and collective farmers in Ukraine, an agronomist in Chita, Moscow housewives. Most of all, these letters talk of vigilance." School children were inspired to write poems in praise of "The glorious Russian patriot-lady, To whom eternal ages shall sing hosannas." The glorification of Tima-

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# The Elephant And the Man

**(At present the press carries almost daily dispatches about the deep unrest of the natives of Kenya in East Africa, who have been dispossessed from their land by British settlers. The natives seek return of their land and freedom from British imperialist rule. We believe the following story by Jomo Kenyatta, one of the native Kenya leaders, recently framed up as a "terrorist" by the British authorities, will be of interest to our readers. Ed.)**

Once upon a time an elephant made a friendship with a man.

One day, a heavy thunderstorm broke out, the elephant went to his friend, who had a little hut at the edge of the forest and said to him: "My dear good man, will you please let me put my trunk inside your hut to keep it out of this torrential rain?"

The man seeing what situation his friend was in, replied: "My dear good elephant, my hut is very small, but there is room for your trunk and myself. Please put your trunk in gently."

The elephant thanked his friend saying: "You have done me a good deed and one day I will return your kindness."

But what followed? As soon as the elephant put his trunk inside the hut, slowly he pushed his head inside, and finally flung the man out in the rain, and then lay down comfortably inside his friend's hut, saying: "My dear good friend, your skin is harder than mine, and as there is not enough room for both of us, you can afford to remain in the rain while I am protecting my delicate skin from the hailstorm."

The man, seeing what his friend had done to him, started to grumble; the animals in the nearby forest heard the noise, and came to see what was the matter.

All stood around listening to the heated argument between the man and his friend the elephant.

In this turmoil the lion came along roaring and said in a loud voice: "Don't you all know that I am King of the Jungle? How dare anyone disturb the peace of my Kingdom?"

On hearing this the elephant, who was one of the high ministers in the Jungle Kingdom, replied in a soothing voice, and said: "My Lord, there is no disturbance of the peace in your Kingdom. I have only been having a little discussion with my friend here as to the possession of this little hut which your lordship sees me occupying."

The lion, who wanted to have "peace and tranquillity" in his kingdom, replied in a noble voice, saying "I command my Minister to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to go thoroughly into this matter and report accordingly."

He then turned to the man and said: "You have done well by establishing friendship with my people, especially with the elephant who is one of my honourable Ministers of State. Do not grumble any more, your hut is not lost to you. Wait until the sitting of my Imperial Commission, and there you will be given plenty of opportunity to state your case. I'm sure that you will be pleased with the findings of the Commission."

The man was very pleased by these sweet words from the King of the Jungle, and innocently waited for his opportunity, in his belief that, naturally, the hut would be returned to him.

The elephant, obeying the command of his master, got busy with other ministers to appoint the Commission of Inquiry.

The following elders of the Jungle were appointed to sit in the Commission: Mr. Rhinoceros, Mr. Buffalo, Mr. Alligator, The Rt. Hon. Mr. Fox to act as Chairman; Mr. Leopard to act as Secretary to the Commission.

On seeing the personnel, the man protested and asked if it was not necessary to include in this Commission a member from his side. But he was told that it was impossible, since no one from his side was well enough educated to understand the intricacy of Jungle law.

Further, that there was nothing to fear, for the members of the Commission were all men of repute for their impartiality in justice, and as they were gentlemen chosen by God to look after the interests of races less adequately endowed with teeth and claws, he might rest assured that they would investigate the matter with the greatest care and report impartially.

The Commission sat to take evidence. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant was first called. He came along with a superior air, brushing his tusks with a sapling which Mrs. Elephant had provided, and in an authoritative voice, said:

"Gentlemen of the Jungle, there is no need for me to waste your valuable time in relating a story which I am sure you all know. I have always regarded it as my duty to protect the interests of my friends and this appears to have caused the misunderstanding between myself and my friend here.

"He invited me to save his hut from being blown away by a hurricane. As the hurricane had gained access owing to the unoccupied space in the hut, I considered it necessary, in my friend's own interests, to turn the undeveloped space to a more economic use by sitting in it myself; a duty which any of you would undoubtedly have performed with equal readiness in similar circumstances."

After hearing the Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant's conclusive evidence the Commission called Mr. Hyena and other elders of the Jungle who all supported what Mr. Elephant had said.

They than called the man, who began to give his own account of the dispute.

But the Commission cut him short, saying: "My good man, please confine yourself to relevant issues. We have already heard the circumstances from various unbiased sources; all we wish you to tell us is whether the undeveloped space in your hut was occupied by any one else before Mr. Elephant assumed his position?"

The man began to say: "No, but —." But at this point the Commission declared that they had heard sufficient evidence from both sides and retired to consider their decision.

After enjoying a delicious meal at the expense of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant, they reached their verdict, called the man, and declared as follows:

"In our opinion this dispute has arisen through a regrettable misunderstanding due to the backwardness of your ideas.

"We consider that Mr. Elephant has fulfilled your interests. As it is clearly for your good that the space should be put to its most economic use, and as you yourself have not yet reached the stage of expansion which would enable you to fill it, we consider it necessary to arrange a compromise to suit both parties.

"Mr. Elephant shall continue his occupation of your hut, but we give you permission to look for a site where you can build another hut more suited to your needs, and we will see that you are well protected."

## Oregon Veterans Condemn Loyalty Oaths for Teachers

The American Civil Liberties Union reported April 13 that Oregon veterans led by the American Legion have condemned "negative" loyalty oaths for teachers.

The veterans also declared that school officials should "have the opportunity, if it is necessary, to clean their own house without being harrassed by outside organizations." They observed that existing "affirmative" loyalty oaths, such as are required of Federal and state officials, should be sufficient for the teaching profession.

Signing the statement with the Legion were the Disabled American Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, and the Spanish-American War Veterans.

They were joined by the Oregon State Grange, state synod of the Presbyterian Church, the League of Women Voters, and other groups opposed to special loyalty oaths for teachers.

# The Guatemala Communist Party And Prospects of the Revolution

By Harry Frankel
(Fourth and last of a series)

**A January 8 article in the Christian Science Monitor, not necessarily authentic but written by the well-informed Robert M. Hallett, examines the contention of the jingoistic journalists that "Guatemala is communist" and arrives at this conclusion: "While a closer examination does not, in this writer's view, support this contention, there is no doubt that communism has more power and influence in Guatemala today than in any other country in the Western Hemisphere."**

He then goes on to give some facts that are of more interest than his conclusion:

"The former president of Congress, Roberto Alvarado Fuentes; the director of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, Alfonso Solorzano, and Carlos Alvarado Jerez, director of the national radio station TGW, have attended Communist-inspired international 'peace' meetings. In all, more than fifty Guatemalans have traveled to such meetings in the past year and a half.

"Nineteen deputies in Congress signed a message of congratulations to the President of North Korea for his 'magnificent efforts' to resist 'imperialist aggression.'"

"The now well-debunked bacteriological film distributed by the Communists was not only shown in Guatemala but exhibited in schools and government buildings on government projectors and by government projectionists. On the other hand, when one company later tried to distribute the American anti-Communist film 'Red Menace' the Ministry of Education banned it."

### "GOV'T. CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT LABOR"

"Basically, the parties which give the Arbenz government its support are very fluid, shifting in their loyalties and torn by intense rivalries. They offer no solid base for a political foundation. The only cohesive, consistent forces are the labor movement and the Communist Party — which for the present are one and the same. Therefore, reduced to simplest terms, the government cannot exist for long without labor, which is united under the aegis of the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG). And the price of this support is freedom of Communist political and propaganda activity."

What is the Guatemalan Communist party? Information is very sparse, and not necessarily reliable at all, but from such as we have we can assemble the following picture, keeping in mind that the sources of information are limited and biased:

In the Revolution of 1944, a left-wing group developed under the leadership of Jose Manuel Fortuny, a member of Congress and leader in the revolution. This group formed the Partido Accion Revolucionaria (PAR) within which Fortuny founded an inner group in Sept. 1947 known as the Democratic Vanguard. In May 1950, this group quit the PAR and announced their intention of founding a Communist Party. It began publishing a weekly paper, called **Octubre** after the Oct. 1944 Revolution. There were 2,000 people at the founding ceremony for this paper in Guatemala City in July 1951. This group was called the "October Communists" to distinguish them from the so-called Stalinist Communists who existed in a group called the Revolutionary Party of the Guatemalan Workers, with Victor Manuel Gutierrez, a young Stalinist, as its secretary-general.

### UNITY AND AGRARIAN REVOLT

According to Sydney Gruson of the **N. Y. Times**, this division into two parties ended after a trip made by Gutierrez to the Soviet Union, after which the two groups were united into a single party called the Communist Party, which recently changed its name to the Guatemalan Workers Party. Fortuny became the secretary-general of the new party, and **Octubre** continued as its paper.

The agrarian reform movement has given this party an opportunity to supplement its urban forces (estimates place the membership at no more than 1,200) with peasant fighters. Since the law, itself written under left-wing influence, provides for peasant initiative in petitioning for division of estates, the Guatemalan Workers Party forces have moved into the rural regions, into the local and provincial peasant committees, where they speak and act as the foremost proponents of the land division, encourage land seizure by direct action where the government is slow, and undoubtedly recruit to their forces among the peasants and agricultural workers. It is reported that they hold predominance, through members and allies, in the confederation of agricultural laborers.

### CP PERSPECTIVE

The program of this party, as seen from both its action and from reported statements made at its recent congress, appears to be similar to that of the Chinese Communist Party before it came to power, with a difference. Here is a reported statement from the speech of Fortuny to the Congress of the Guatemalan Workers Party: "We Communists recognize that, due to its special conditions, the development of Guatemala must be accomplished for a period through capitalism." This is similar to the programmatic view often expressed by Mao Tse-tung in the years before the Chinese CP came to power. But here is the amendment: Fortuny is reported to have insisted that the examples of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China "demonstrated clearly that in our days it is no longer historically inevitable that the people, in order to overcome economic backwardness, must pass through long capitalist periods."

This remark is vague, no doubt purposely so. What is a "long capitalist period" and what is a short one? Under this cloudy formulation, it is possible to conceive that the nine-year period since the revolution of 1944 is all that capitalism can utilize in a progressive fashion, and that a struggle for a workers and peasants government is now on the order of the day. Or it is possible to conceive on the basis of the same formulation that Guatemala still has a period of half a century of capitalist development ahead of it. This would still be a "short" capitalist period when judged against the centuries of British, French and American capitalism.

False ideas limit and can even cripple a leadership entirely. But the course of the Guatemalan revolt may well be determined not by some indistinct and false formula, but by the dynamic of the struggle itself. It is not excluded that the Guatemalan CP, through the logic of events which it has helped to initiate but over which it can have no final control, can be separated from its present petty-bourgeois nationalist allies and enlarge its independent sphere of struggle to the point of a fight for power.

### LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES

Its chief handicaps in this respect are twofold: the Kremlin and the small weight and isolated position of Guatemala itself.

The Kremlin will probably prove to be very insistent that the Guatemalan CP maintain its alliance with the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois forces, all the more so since these nationalist forces, which exist not only in Guatemala but throughout Latin America, are at present anti-U.S. imperialism to a limited degree. The Kremlin, however, might have great difficulty in enforcing this course upon the Guatemalan CP, as it had in Yugoslavia, China, etc. In the event of new circumstances such as a break with the left by the Arbenz government itself, and an attempt by this government, in collaboration with imperialism, to wipe out the CP and crush the revolution, the CP might be forced to fight.

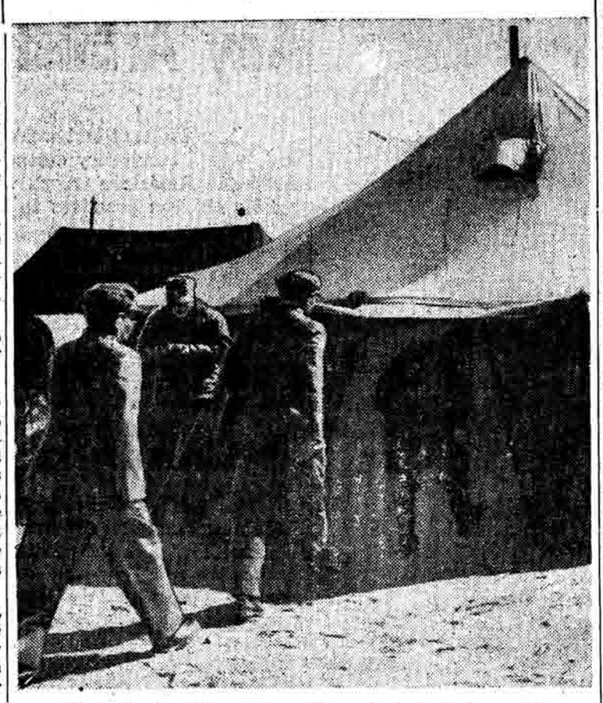
Even this great difficulty of the treacherous advice of the Kremlin is overshadowed by another: the isolated position of Guatemala. A CP-led revolt in a single tiny country, under the very guns of the Pentagon in the western hemisphere, would certainly be extremely audacious, and the height of this audacity would be enough to limit any party, let alone a Stalinist party with its past traditions and with the Kremlin barrier. But the logic of the struggle and the swell of the mass movement, the blows of reaction and the impossibility of any pacific course towards the bourgeois forces which may tomorrow attack the workers and the workers' leadership — these things, if they develop, may force the Guatemalan CP into serious struggles of an unforseen kind. Fortuny's stress against expecting a "long capitalist period" shows the effect that the hammer blows of events have had upon Communist parties leading mass movements in colonial countries.

It is the duty of all socialists in this hemisphere to aid the progress of the Guatemalan revolution in two chief ways: (1) By giving it unstinting support against imperialism and native landlordism in every one of its progressive moves and demands. (2) By following Guatemalan events, criticizing errors, timidities, false conceptions and false moves of the present leadership of the masses, and by prodding and encouraging that leadership, in every suitable way, to adopt a consciously revolutionary outlook and set as its goal the fight for a workers and peasants government.

The Guatemalan revolution will in the long run take its place as one sector of a continent-wide upheaval, and the Guatemalan revolutionary peasant and worker forces will play an important role in the American hemisphere's struggle for the complete end of colonialism and for a socialist North and South America.

(The End)

## *Panmunjom Truce Tent*



**Truce tent at Panmunjom, Korea is back in use again as talks take place on exchange of sick and wounded prisoners. Chinese and North Koreans are also pressing for renewed talks on entire truce issue; have offered concessions, but U.S. is acting reluctant.**

# EISENHOWER WILL NOT BRING TROOPS HOME

(Continued from page 1)

**N. Y. Times**, "would give the Communists a propaganda advantage, and would also evoke protests in Europe." Moreover, there is "always the chance that Moscow seeks an accomodation" — that is, may make far-reaching concessions, whatever the consequences for colonial revolutions and socialist struggles of the workers.

### BIG OPPOSITION

To this must be added that there is in this country, as well as throughout the world, a tremendous undercurrent of opposition to the Korean war. There are repeated reports of letters flowing into the White House calling on Eisenhower to "Bring the boys home." The Republican administration has not consolidated its power so firmly that it can ignore this mass sentiment.

What continues to be the chief anxiety of the rulers in Washington and Wall Street is the possible immediate consequence to the profits economy of even a temporary cease-fire in Korea. Will it mean a "let-down" in arms production and government war spending to the point of triggering a depression?

**Even a slight reduction in the flow of U.S. money and goods to weak and unstable western Europe and Japan might set off a raging economic crisis abroad, which in turn would swiftly envelop this country.**

In addition, the Administration has to reckon with the most reactionary wing of its own party — the McCarthyites and the China lobby crew — who are yelling "appeasement" at any move which is not plainly directed at quick all-out war against China and the Soviet Union.

From the first day of the U.S. intervention in Korea, we have not ceased to proclaim that the only way to guarantee an end to the most unpopular war in our history is by the pressure and intervention of the American people to compel the White House and Pentagon to withdraw all U.S. troops from Korea immediately.

There can be no peace in the Far East or the world as a whole until we recognize the legitimate government of China, cease all aid to the counter-revolutionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek, end the blockade on China and withdraw all support to the British and French imperialist invaders of Malaya and Indo-China.

## Loyalty Oaths for Theater-Goers?

The National Council on Freedom from Censorship, an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, has stated that the cancellation of a performance of the Broadway hit show, "Wonderful Town," over the purchase of a block of seats for the benefit of an alleged left-wing publication (said to be **The National Guardian**) "raises the amazing possibility that theater-goers must now pass political tests set up by producers."

## MILITANT SCOREBOARD

### Cities

| | Points |
|---|---|
| Twin Cities | 3,886 |
| Chicago | 2,360 |
| New York | 1,692 |
| Los Angeles | 1,558 |
| Seattle | 825 |
| Detroit | 651 |
| Flint | 650 |
| Newark | 572 |
| Buffalo | 520 |
| Milwaukee | 397 |
| Cleveland | 390 |
| Boston | 264 |
| Youngstown | 234 |
| Akron | 168 |
| Philadelphia | 110 |
| San Francisco | 104 |
| Oakland | 95 |
| St. Louis | 56 |
| General | 130 |

### Pace-Setters

| | | Points |
|---|---|---|
| Evie | Twin Cities | 520 |
| Milt | Twin Cities | 398 |
| Ray | Twin Cities | 394 |
| Paul | Twin Cities | 346 |
| Perry | Flint | 338 |
| Bob H. | Chicago | 306 |
| Howard A. | Chicago | 306 |
| Bob R. | New York | 236 |
| Charlie | Seattle | 235 |
| Al A. | Los Angeles | 213 |
| Sam S. | Los Angeles | 208 |
| Bob | Twin Cities | 190 |
| Dee | Chicago | 190 |
| Dave L. | Detroit | 182 |
| Erroll | Los Angeles | 182 |
| Helen | Twin Cities | 173 |
| Natalie | Los Angeles | 163 |
| Charlie | Twin Cities | 159 |
| Frank | Chicago | 157 |

# TWIN CITIES, CHICAGO SET PACE IN SUB DRIVE

(Continued from page 1)

394, and **Paul** is also in the '300' bracket with 346. Lots of competition for the three pace-setter prizes!

"Of the total 20 subs, 10 are new ones brought in by Minneapolis subgetters **Evie, Ray, Alice, Bob** and **Helen** from fellow workers and new friends, who became interested in socialism through the election campaign of last fall. **Ray** received the following note from a friend out-in-the state: 'Enclosed find my renewal. Have mailed out the other two blanks you sent me and hope they bring returns. I admire you beyond degree for staying with the work.' Our **Militant** subgetters, on the whole, find an attentive audience with respect and friendliness for socialist ideas and positive approval of the paper.

"The Twin Cities total of 3,886 points is accounted for by the three local teams as follows: The Coover Scouts, 1,394; The Classy Strugglers of St. Paul, 1,327; and The Marching Militants, 1,165. 'Captain' **Harry** and his Coover Scouts rate Special Mention this week, raising their score 637 points with 13 subs, six new ones, and a sale of 13 single copies at the AFL Hall and to individuals."

Our sincere thanks this week to **Militant** readers who have sent in donations to help meet the printing costs of the paper. **L. L. of Portchester, N. Y.**, sends in $1 "for the sub campaign." **R. L. S. of Fla.**, sends in $10 to help **The Militant** in its fight for civil rights.

Thanks also to **S. R. of New York**, for two $20 contributions sent in the past few weeks; and to **J. G. B., of Moon Lake, Canada**, for $3; **B. R. of New York**, for $1; **R. G. of N. Y.**, for $3.95; and to **P.S. of Calif., for $1.**

# World Events

By Charles Hanley

**THE KREMLIN'S** release of 15 doctors, framed up under Stalin as "spies" and "murderers," was preceded by "a general switching-off of anti-Semitic propaganda" throughout the satellite countries, Lajos Lederer writes in the April 5 **Observateur.** "In Budapest, the offices of the Hungarian Jewish community, raided and closed down in January, were reopened. The general secretary of the Budapest Jewish community, Miksa Domonkos, arrested only two days before Stalin's death, was set free. Authorities in all satellite countries went out of their way in publicizing the authorization of urgent special production of matzos for Passover in spite of the current flour shortage."

* * *

**IN HUNGARY** the Stalinist "People's Front" hinted April 12 that the government may declare an amnesty for those who "have committed mistakes" against the regime.

* * *

**THE AMERICAN STALINIST** newspaper **The Daily Worker** seems anxious to prove that capitalists are able to "flourish" in China under Mao Tse-tung. Foreign correspondent Joseph Starobin writes from Peking that "it's one of the interesting and very important aspects of the People's China that tens of thousands of substantial sized businessmen are making goods and making money with the assistance of the government. If traders and shopkeepers are added to the picture, this figure comes to many many millions. These are the 'industrial and commercial circles,' who have their own organizations, their political parties and their representatives in the United Front government." Starobin says that he talked with "their foremost spokesman, Chang Nai-chi" a "Minister of Food and a member of the top government committees." A textile-plant owner interviewed by Starobin employs 70,000 workers.

* * *

**ITALY'S** General Confederation of Labor threatened April 10 to call a strike of the 1,000,000 poorly paid civil-service workers if the government does not issue an emergency decree advancing $8 to every one against future pay increases.

* * *

**GENERAL PERON** expelled eight highly placed members of his party April 10 for "rumor mongering." This purge is believed to be a reflection of the Argentine workers' growing restlessness under the impact of inflationary prices.

* * *

**IN KENYA** British political leaders have demanded that Gov. Sir Evelyn Baring institute "public hangings of Mau-Mau murderers" as an answer to the widening guerrilla activity of the native people seeking freedom from British oppression. They also demand "a resettlement policy on Malayan lines," that is, conversion of towns and villages into concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire.

* * *

**TENSION MOUNTED** in Iran as army officers distributed leaflets April 13 threatening revolt against the Mossadegh regime in defense of the monarchy. Mossadegh demands that the powers of government and the royal court be separated.

* * *

**A JAPANESE** firm, the Idemitsu Kosan Co., signed an agreement with Iran, April 10 to buy an unlimited amount of oil at the nationalized Abadan refinery. The Japanese government sanctioned purchase of the first shipment but did not OK the entire contract "because of foreign exchange difficulties."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## Fascist Menace and How to Fight It

Joseph and Stewart Alsop, in their April 15 syndicated column, make a very significant appraisal of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. They say:

(1) That he is aiming at "the Presidency and nothing less."

(2) McCarthy is not counting on the Republican Party to carry him there, but on the emergence of a new force in American politics.

(3) McCarthy has demonstrated his ability to weld together "the whole assortment of small, proto-Fascist extremist groups." At the same time he has "an appeal, never demonstrated by the Gerald L. K. Smith type of professional demagogue, to certain solid conservative elements. McCarthy has plenty of financial backing."

(4) McCarthy can't be silenced, and his "opportunities to stay in the news are unlimited."

(5) The idea that McCarthy can reach the White House must be taken seriously, especially in case of "a serious depression or a war," which would "give McCarthy a real opportunity for national power."

In short, the Alsops conclude that "it can happen here," with McCarthy as the fascist leader.

One aspect of this matter that the Alsops don't consider is the power of the organized labor movement, McCarthy's natural foe and the only sector of the population which has the power to stop a business-backed fascist drive in a period of social crisis.

**Labor's Daily**, the recently-inaugurated daily newspaper sponsored by the International Typographical Union, printed a hard-hitting anti-McCarthy editorial on April 7. It said: "Senator Joseph McCarthy is a demagogue such as has not appeared on the American scene in many decades. He is a threat to the orderly functions of the executive and legislative departments of the government. Congress knows that. The President knows it.

"When are they going to do something about this mad, power-hungry, character-assassinating rascal before his calculating, domineering influence affects every man, woman and child in America?"

**Labor's Daily** concludes rather weakly: "He should be impeached. The sooner the better." The fact is that there is no mood to either impeach or even limit in any way the activities of McCarthy in the present Congress, either "sooner" or later.

The labor movement can learn something from McCarthy. As a power-grasping fascist demagogue, he cares nothing for the Republican Party. His own party retreats steadily before him. What the labor movement needs is to build its own independent force that can stop McCarthy or anything like him without worrying about the Democratic politicians to which it has heretofore been tied. Labor, a Labor Party, labor Congressmen, are the only forces that won't capitulate to McCarthyism and that can really "impeach" him.

## The Case of Joseph "King" Ryan

President Joseph "King" Ryan of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association has outlived his usefulness to the waterfront employers, city officials, big-time racketeers and Tammany politicians. They have decided to throw him to the wolves. He has been indicted on grand larceny charges arising out of his personal appropriation of union monies, including sums turned over to him by employers as an "anti-communist" fund to put down union militants.

Few union members who have been milked and pushed around by Ryan's mobsters, who have suffered low earnings and rotten conditions due to Ryan's repeated sell-outs will shed tears over the plight of this strikebreaking tool of the shipping bosses.

But it would be a big mistake to think that this move against Ryan, initiated and engineered by the very anti-labor elements whom Ryan has served so long and so faithfully, is designed in any way to help the union and its members.

This is an attempt to provide a scapegoat for the evil conditions on the New York waterfront which are a product of the unholy alliance of the employers, gangsters, city officials, police and capitalist political machines. Ryan has been selected for the sacrifice because he cannot any longer keep the longshore workers' hands tied while their throats are being cut.

For the last six years there has been mass resistance to Ryan and his sell-outs. There have been repeated so-called "wildcat" strikes by the rank and file to reject Ryan's contracts. The men have been seething with revolt but they have not yet found the right leadership to wage a winning fight.

Ryan was good for the bosses, and they didn't mind his getting his "little take," so long as he was still able to serve them efficiently in keeping the workers down, preventing strikes, weeding out "radicals," blocking wage increases and boosting profits. But Ryan is too discredited to fulfill that function any longer.

The bosses therefore want to dump him and in a way in which it will appear that they are the ones seeking to "clean up" the waterfront and protect the workers. They want to forestall the selection of a militant union leadership by the members. They hope to replace the no-longer-useful Ryan by another Ryan-type leader who will play Ryan's role more effectively.

The longshoremen will gain little or nothing by Ryan's removal if the fundamental situation of employer-politician-gangster-police-union leader alliance continues. The job is for the members to take over the union, elect their own leadership from their own ranks and wage a showdown struggle against all the vultures, outside and inside the union, who have been preying on them.

Ryan's old pals and fellow-scoundrels, who have now turned on him in pretended indignation at his crimes, are getting ready to give an even worse deal to waterfront labor. The only ones who really want to and can clean up the waterfront and the union are the workers. Let them do a thorough job of it.

## Pep Talk for Coupon-Clippers

The majority of those who follow **The Wall Street Journal** are about as hard-boiled in their outlook as you'll find in this country — stock speculators, coupon clippers, industrial tycoons and high financiers. You'd think they didn't need inspirational topics sandwiched in among the stock market and profit reports to keep up their morale. Yet that seems to be the case.

For instance, in the April 15 issue a typical item by William Henry Chamberlin aims at lifting the spirits of any profiteer who is a bit down at the mouth at the state of the capitalist system today and its prospects for survival. Chamberlin strikes the optimistic note in his opening sentence: "As an economic system capitalism is not a hot-house plant but a hardy perennial."

Main "proof" is that where capitalism has been ended, as in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, there is still inequality and many capitalist practices such as payment in wages. What progress has been made is "largely due to reversion to the methods of early capitalism." It is true that there has been a lot of backsliding in Yugoslavia, and in the Soviet Union degeneration to such a degree that the Kremlin's political methods resemble the fascist practices capitalism gave us in Italy and Germany. But the successes in the economic sphere, particularly in the Soviet Union, are wholly due to the enormous potentials and swift tempo made possible under overall planning — even under Stalinist misrule.

This is the factor that brought the Soviet Union from the position of weakest power in Europe at the end of World War I to that of the foremost, while the capitalist countries fell into decay and stagnation — even such mighty imperialist powers as Great Britain and France.

American capitalism, it is true, appears at its very strongest today. Yet this is only the appearance. The mere possibility of a truce in Korea was sufficient to shake up the stock market, causing the loss of billions of dollars to speculators, many of them no doubt readers of **The Wall Street Journal.**

The threat of a depression if armament spending were to be cut back hangs like a pall over the offices of the billionaires and their parasitic circles. And if a depression like that of the Thirties should sweep the country, would America remain capitalist very long?

Chamberlin ends his "cheer-up-it's-not-so-bad" piece by asserting that if capitalism "did not exist it would probably have to be invented." The truth is that capitalism as a world system does not have much longer to exist. That's why **The Wall Street Journal** has to include soothing syrup in its fare for coupon clippers who can't help worrying about what the future holds in store for their way of life.

# Insider Bares Facts on Stalin Purge Trials

By Art Preis

**On May 19, 1937, the noted Prof. John Dewey, in his preliminary report for the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow trials, concluded with the famous statement of Zola in the Dreyfuss case: "Truth is on the march and nothing will stop it."**

Now, nearly 16 years later, the findings of the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, which first unraveled and exposed the Kremlin's frame-ups and murders of the old Bolsheviks, have received remarkable direct confirmation from two separate inside sources, the Kremlin itself and a former top NKVD official, Alexander Orlov.

This new authoritative testimony comes at an appropriate time. A certain tendency now asserting itself among individuals and circles on the fringes of Stalinism, but boasting of "independence" from the Stalinists, is once again trying to represent the Soviet bureaucracy as an historically progressive force. The **Monthly Review** editors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, for example, dismiss the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary crimes as mere "stupidities, mistakes and excesses" and even try to justify and whitewash the Moscow trials.

**The Militant** last week discussed at some length the significance of the Kremlin's admission that 15 Soviet doctors, who last January "confessed" to being "foreign spies" and "assassins" of several deceased Soviet leaders, had been framed up and their "confessions" extorted by physical and psychological torture. This threw direct light on the way "confessions" were secured in the staged Moscow trials.

Alexander Orlov, an escaped NKVD (originally GPU) general, in a series of articles in **Life** magazine beginning on April 6, goes further. He gives us the first extensive inside details of how the actual trials were organized and staged. He tells the precise roles played in the frame-ups by everyone involved, from Stalin on down, and the exact means used in the cases of key defendants like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Piatakov to make these former revolutionary comrades of Lenin and Trotsky "confess" to the most abominable and fantastic crimes against the Soviet Union.

### KIROV ASSASSINATION

First of all, Orlov relates the facts about the assassination of S. M. Kirov, the head of the Leningrad Region of the Russian Communist Party, in December 1934, by an unknown young Communist, Leonid Nikolayev. This assassination served as the pretext for the gigantic purge that followed for the next three years and was the basis of the original charges against Zinoviev, Kamenev and hundreds of others who perished on Stalin's orders.

Orlov discloses, with a wealth of detail, that Stalin himself and the NKVD organized Kirov's assassination. It was designed to deal blows in two directions. Stalin, although pretending to lament the death of Kirov, feared him because of his popularity with the Leningrad workers. Kirov had insisted on increasing the food rations of the workers in opposition to Stalin. Hence, Stalin determined to destroy Kirov. At the same time, he planned to use Kirov's death as a pretext to attack the left opposition generally and particularly the followers of Leon Trotsky, Red Army founder who had been exiled in 1927.

Back in Feb. 1935, only two months after the Kirov assassination, Trotsky analyzed all the statements issued by Stalin and his agents on the Kirov assassination and came to the conclusion that it could not have happened without the aid of the GPU itself. He then stated in his pamphlet, **The Kirov Assassination**, that "the version we have adduced which unfailingly flows from the indictment itself, if one is able to read it, **presupposes consequently that the GPU itself. . . was financing Nicolaiev and was attempting to link him with Trotsky.**" (Original emphasis.)

### STALIN'S PLAN

Stalin's original plan for the first of the Moscow show trials, according to Orlov, called for the selection of 300 of the best-known members or former members of the Trotskyist left opposition and working them over until 50 would break and confess to conspiracy to assassinate Stalin and overthrow the Soviet Union. However, the GPU experts, despite all their exertions, could produce only 16 for trial, of whom five were NKVD plants.

These five plants, minutely described by Orlov, were originally spotted by Trotsky back in 1936. He produced, for instance, letters he had received from friends in 1930 describing as a GPU agent one of these plants, Valentine Olberg, who had come to Trotsky seeking to become his secretary.

For the most part, Orlov explains, Stalin's GPU was able to extract confessions only from those who had a record of repeated capitulations to Stalin and who had demeaned themselves repeatedly in his service, especially in fabricating slanders against Trotsky, whom Orlov correctly describes as the chief target of the trials and "confessions."

Trotsky himself, at the time of the trials, produced voluminous documentary evidence to show that men like Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek had been denounced by him as capitulators and agents of Stalin as far back as 1928 and 1929.

**Yet even these broken men, abject tools of Stalin, did not confess except under the most prolonged and horrible physical and mental torture. Orlov describes how the sick Zinoviev was confined in a tiny closed cell in the summer with the full steam heat turned on until he lay writhing on the floor in agony, gasping for air.**

But the final pressure put on these sad victims of Stalinism was their love for their children and grandchildren, their wives, their old comrades. Thus, Kamenev held out until the GPU threatened to torture his son into "confessing" against his father. And Zinoviev agreed to carry out Stalin's demand for a public "confession" only when Stalin personally promised him that the lives of the thousands of oppositionists held by the GPU would be spared if Zinoviev gave Stalin what he wanted. **Orlov reports that after Zinoviev carried through his sordid side of the deal, Stalin ordered the liquidation of the left oppositionists in batches of 5,000.**

### GPU TECHNIQUE

In his testimony before the Dewey Commission, Trotsky explained the major elements of the techniques for extracting confessions and getting them repeated "publicly" before Stalin's completely controlled tribunals. He pointed out that refusal to confess meant death "at one hundred percent" while a confession meant death at only "ninety-nine per cent." This one per cent chance, which appeared to have paid off in the case of Radek, who got only a prison sentence, was worth the gamble to some of the defendants. But this was not the important consideration for most. Trotsky explained to the Commission:

"They (the GPU inquisitors) have time. The defendants remain in prison one month, five months, ten months. They have different ways. They arrest the son and they arrest the wife. Permit me to give you a personal example. Our son [Sergei] is now arrested [in Russia] on the accusation — you know my son's accusation [mass poisoning of workers]. If we were in Russia, the mother would be arrested, I would be arrested. They press her with the thought, 'If you will save your son you must confess your husband to be such and such a criminal.'. . . They address the son and they say, 'If you want to see your mother free, you must confess that and that.' I believe it is very probable the son would confess. Then they come with the confession of the mother to me and ask me, 'What will you do?' The situation is very difficult. . . Piatakov's wife was arrested eight months before he was. He declared in his last words, 'I lost all, my family and all.'"

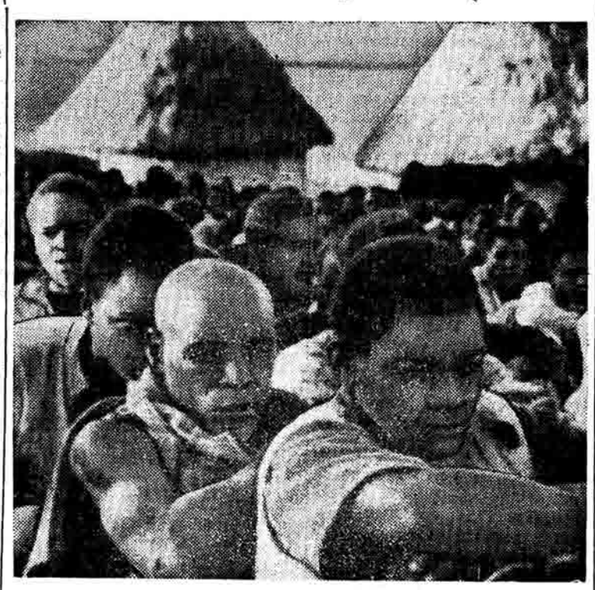
### COURT FORCE

The **Daily Worker**, newspaper of the American Communist Party, now tries to make it appear that the forced confessions of the 15 Soviet doctors, which the Kremlin has admitted, have no relation to the confessions of the Moscow trials defendants because the latter's "confessions" were allegedly made in "open court."

Trotsky explained that this "ritual of jurisprudence has an importance which is close to zero," that the trials were held before military tribunals, that every person in the courtroom from the prosecutor to the "representatives of the press" were hand-picked political opponents of the defendants, that the possibility for effectively repudiating an alleged "confession" did not exist and, at any rate, could not help the victim, who would be rushed off to death forthwith, knowing his family would likewise be murdered.

Orlov confirms this to the letter. He reveals that Stalin himself selected the small hall for the first Moscow trial. Specially coached GPU officials and employes were the only "public" in the court. They were given credentials and carefully screened. Other special groups of NKVD officers were seated among the "public." They were ready to spring up and drown out the words of any defendant with loud shouts in the event he proved rebellious and departed from the GPU script. In short, not the least fraudulent part of these "confession" trials is the claim they were held in "open court."

## *British Jail Many in Kenya*



Shown marching in chain-gang fashion are some of the many thousands of Africans arrested by British imperialism during the past months for the "crime" of wanting to own and control their own homeland and for fighting for that goal.

**Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism**

# Contradiction of the Soviet Bureaucracy

By John G. Wright

(Fifth of a Series)

**Far from having been dulled by the passage of time since Trotsky wrote, the central contradiction of Soviet reality has been sharpened in the extreme at both its poles, particularly by Soviet industrial growth, by the expansion of the Kremlin's dominion to Eastern Europe, Mao's world-shaking victory in China and generally by the new relationship of world forces, unfavorable to imperialism.**

This central contradiction of Soviet life, irrefutably established by Leon Trotsky, happens to be without parallel in sociology. Its evolution, along with the study of it, merges directly at every stage with living politics. "The scientific task, as well as the political," explained Trotsky, "is not to give a finished definition to an unfinished process, but to follow all its stages, separate its progressive from its reactionary tendencies, expose their mutual relations, foresee possible variants of development, and find in this foresight a basis for action." (**The Revolution Betrayed**, page 256.)

The polarization of Soviet society differs profoundly from the polarization in exploitative (class) societies. Thus the polarization of capitalism (private owner — wage worker) is determined by the independent role the private owner (the capitalist class) plays in the process of production. The coercion of the state enters, of course, as an indispensable element in re-establishing the equilibrium of capitalism each time this equilibrium is disrupted by crisis, economic, political, social.

But the lever of the capitalist state would remain suspended in mid-air without the fulcrum supplied it by the independent economic role of the capitalists. This role serves not only to fix the goal of production — extraction of surplus-value — but also serves as the basic support for re-establishing the equilibrium of capitalist society.

The Soviet bureaucracy, in contrast, plays no independent role in Soviet economic life; it cannot play an independent role so long as these new social institutions continue to exist. It lacks the "normal means" for perpetuating its rule. Unlike previously existing privileged minorities, from the chattel slaveholders, through the feudal monopolists down to the modern monopolists of industry — the Soviet bureaucracy lacks the basic social support for maintaining the "unity of opposites" in society under its rule.

### ARTIFICIAL SUPPORTS

Barred from the historically necessary social support for its regime, the bureaucracy is compelled to resort to artificial supports. In particular it seeks to attain **the maximum of independence** in running the **state machinery**, in which the ownership of the means of production is vested.

It is in the exploitation of the state that Stalinism has been able to record its greatest successes to date. How? By expropriating politically the Soviet workers and generally the mass of the Soviet people. These **political expropriators** aim to play the same role in history as that played by **economic expropriators.** In vain.

Precisely because the successive economic expropriators played, each ruling class in its own way, an independent role in the productive process, they were able to validate legally their special types of property and pass them to their heirs. This road is barred to the Soviet bureaucracy.

Trotsky underscored that this bureaucracy "is recruited, supplemented and renewed in the manner of an administrative hierarchy, independently of any special property relations of its own. The individual bureaucrat cannot transmit to his heirs his rights in the exploitation of the state apparatus. The bureaucracy enjoys its privileges under the form of an abuse of power. It conceals its income, it pretends that as a special social group it does not even exist. Its appropriation of a vast share of the national income has the character of social parasitism. All this makes the position of the commanding Soviet stratum in the highest degree contradictory, equivocal and undignified, notwithstanding the completeness of its power and the smoke screen of flattery that conceals it." Today these are the timeliest of words.

### WHO WAS STALIN'S HEIR?

If the Soviet state "belonged" to any one, it was surely to Stalin. The mechanics of totalitarian rule demands a Stalin, otherwise the bureaucracy's "independent role" in operating the state machinery is threatened. But to whom did Stalin bequeath his powers? To his son? To Malenkov? To a duumvirate or a triumvirate? To a directorate? The fact is that Stalin's "ownership" is buried with him. Successors are as numerous as they are dubious. Meanwhile, where Stalin used to be there is now a vacuum.

There is Mao Tse-tung. He enters into the post-Stalin dilemma of the Soviet bureaucracy in at least one significant respect. It is this, that whoever rules in Moscow must reach an understanding with, and retain the backing of, whoever rules in Peking, a situation Stalin never had to contend with in his rise to power.

### PAINFUL MASQUERADE

Even before Stalin died, the bureaucracy's need for social masquerade, for pretense that it does not even exist, that it is "selfless," etc., had become extremely painful. More and more emphasis was being placed on the lie that the Russian party "has no interests other than the interests of the people," that it "regards selfless service to the homeland, to the people as its supreme goal" (Mikhailov at the January 1953 Lenin Memorial meeting in Moscow.) From Malenkov on down, this is being shouted today at the top of the lungs.

Stalin's sudden death has aggravated this need for social masquerade. Beria is forced to "guarantee" publicly that civil liberties of Soviet citizens will be protected. A special amnesty for prisoners, excluding those imprisoned for "counter-revolutionary crimes," i.e., for imputed or real political opposition, is proclaimed. The Soviet Department of Justice is instructed in jig time (within 30 days!) to revise the criminal code, making it "more lenient."

A batch of top-flight Kremlin physicians, only yesterday denounced throughout the length and breadth of the USSR, and the world over, as "doctor-murderers," "Zionist spies," "U.S. intelligence agents," etc., are demonstratively set free. (For a more detailed treatment of Beria's purge of the purgers, see **The Militant** April 13.)

Concessions in the shape of price reductions on consumer goods are doled out, accompanied by pledges to secure peace and prosperity. These are only temporary alleviating measures. The Soviet masses will expect and demand more. To paraphrase a poet, increase of appetite grows by what it feeds on.

**Each failure of the Malenkov regime to make good on its promises will stir new discontent, impel new layers into opposition. Every glaring discrepancy between glowing promises and bitter reality will tend to make the position of Stalin's "heirs" more untenable, the need for social masquerade more and more imperative.**

### NO SECOND STALIN

Pablo is correct in predicting that there neither can be nor will be "a second Stalin." Not that the totalitarian bureaucrats will not try. They must. They must crawl out of their skin to try to manufacture, with all the powers of their colossal apparatus, "another Stalin." But they command neither the time nor the historical circumstances for such a repeat performance.

"The disappearance of Stalin, the Bonaparte, is a subjective factor that will accentuate the crisis and decline of the bureaucracy. There will be no second Stalin — that is a primary conclusion. Stalin was unique, because the historical conditions which formed his personality and his role were unique." (M. Pablo, "After Stalin — What?" **The Militant**, March 16.) Events, we are confident, will bear out this prediction.

On top of all the previously accumulated and aggravated contradictions, the Soviet bureaucracy today finds itself unexpectedly confronted with a wholly new contradiction: Its totalitarian regime poses imperiously the need of Stalin II; but to manufacture such a "world-leader" is no longer within its powers. With the biggest cheat on record departed from the scene, the Kremlin cheats must henceforth play out the game minus their ace of trumps.

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII — MONDAY, APRIL 20, 1953 — NUMBER 16


The Negro Struggle

## Talks With Readers

By Jean Blake

Most of the men and women participating in the current Militant subscription campaign are working people who don't often have the spare time and energy to visit other readers to get acquainted and talk over our common problems and ideas.

Occasions like the present drive stimulate us to make the extra effort, to spend a few hours evenings after work, or on Sundays, visiting people. The results are very rewarding — not always in dollars and cents paid for subscriptions, but in other ways.

Today, for example, a few of us visited fourteen homes in a colored neighborhood in a large industrial city. We talked with readers of the paper whose subscriptions have expired to find out what they think of **The Militant** and whether they wish to renew their subscriptions.

Mr. B. particularly likes the fact that **The Militant** is "interracial," and that it reports on news and issues that other papers ignore. His wife is a little worried about whether they'll get in trouble for reading a radical paper, but Mr. B. says, "You have to fight to get anything!" He renewed.

Miss K. did not re-subscribe. "I'm working on two jobs now in order to make out," she told us. "I work sixteen hours a day and when I come home I just fall into bed. I don't have the time to read anything. Come back in about six months. If things are any different for me then, I'll be glad to renew my subscription."

Several others did not renew for the simple reason that despite all the boom and "prosperity" the nation is experiencing, they are unemployed or so underpaid that they are deep in debt. One young man asked us to notify him of any public forums or meetings. He doesn't want to lose touch with us because he hopes to work his way out of debt in a few months and renew his subscription. "The paper is very interesting," he assures us.

Mrs. W. said she had not renewed by mail this year as she usually does because when her son came home from Korea he cautioned her that the authorities might consider the paper communist, and she would get in "trouble." It seems when he landed on the West Coast, he and his buddies were warned not to have anything to do with radical groups or organizations. But Mrs. W. is a fighter. "It looks like they're trying to tell us what we can read! Maybe they'll be able to do that after a while, but they can't change what we have up here!" she said, tapping her forehead. She renewed.

That's the sort of thing that is so rewarding. Visit Negro readers of **The Militant**, and you find the most exploited section of the working class, the "last to be hired and first to be fired." But, together with their struggle for equal opportunities to live and work, you see them fighting for an equal opportunity to read and think. These are the people we'll continue to talk to in this column.

## An Oily "Refutation"

By Jack Bustelo

According to an article in the financial section of the April 13 N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, a highly conservative Republican newspaper, "Karl Marx . . . did not realize that even in his day . . . an industry was born in the United States . . . that was to make hasenpfeffer of his pet theories." This was the American oil industry.

The "pet" theory considered by the writer, C. Norman Stabler, is that competition is fought out by "cheapening" commodities. This Stabler interprets to mean either "deterioriation" or lowering of price. Oil and gasoline have not deteriorated. Indeed, they have been improved in quality. Therefore, Marx's theory is "kaput." The battle of oil competition was fought out, you see, by improving the quality of the product.

But not quite fought out, for Stabler uses a good many inches to try to prove that the oil industry is still highly competitive — 177,923 service stations "classified as separate businesses," etc.

As for price, Stabler is equivocal. First prices went down, then they went up; but by and large there was no increase in price despite the improvement in quality. "Could it be that the printer for Karl Marx made a typographical error?" And the text should read "cheapening in the price, not the quality"?

The "dogma" that competition forces down prices was not thought up by Marx. Every peddler has known this since the first Stablers opened their packs in the public market. Even service stations have their "gas" wars. Any industrialist who can cut down on labor and at the same time increase the quantity of commodities by introducing machines, etc., gains the advantage.

The charge that Marx believed competition was fought out by "deterioration" of commodities is pure fraud. "Whoever sells commodities of the same quality most cheaply, is sure to drive the other sellers from the field and to secure the greatest market for himself," Marx wrote in 1849. **(Wage-Labor and Capital.)**

And what is the end result of driving other sellers from the field? Monopoly. This is one of Marx's theories too. And the oil industry happens to be one of the prime confirmations.

In August 1952 Sen. Thomas Hennings of Missouri charged that seven companies "own and control lock, stock and barrel practically the entire world oil industry outside the United States, and six of these same companies . . . dominate the oil industry within the United States."

These companies hold as much as 70% of the world's oil reserves and own more than 50% of the world's tanker fleet.

In fact this monopoly is so flagrant that the U.S. government filed criminal charges against the international oil cartel for violation of the anti-trust laws.

Now we come to another basic theory advanced by Karl Marx. In **The Communist Manifesto**, published in 1848, Marx said, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Three days before Stabler's article was published, the Eisenhower administration decided to drop the government's criminal charges against the oil monopoly and reduce its case to a mere "civil" suit, thus helping the oil trust to avoid long-overdue criminal prosecution. Whose government is it? Was Marx right or not?

Finally it should be pointed out that the very printing of this attack confirms another doctrine of Marxism — that the capitalist press cannot be depended upon to tell the truth.

I will grant only one point to Stabler. One lubricant has not deteriorated in either quality or price. That's the grease provided to prostitute journalists by the oil monopoly's publicity department. The slippery condition of the palms of some writers in the capitalist press is proof enough of that.

## Notes from the News

**TRUCE PROSPECTS** in Korea have already resulted in cancellation of orders for machine tools by corporations holding war contracts, according to Labor News Service. At its convention in New York the National Machine Tool Builders Assn. expressed worry over the situation and urged its members to "sell harder" and "cut production costs." About 107,000 workers now employed in this industry thus face the prospect of an attack on their wages and working conditions.

* * *

**SCANDAL** over the handling of loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corp. a bare three months after Eisenhower took the oath of office is already making headlines in **The Wall Street Journal.** One of Eisenhower's backers, the paper is forced to admit that evidence from "secret files of the agency" reveals some curious "lending habits." A N. Y. manufacturer of pearl buttons and costume jewelry, for instance, got $200,000 although it could not meet the terms of RFC lending rules. A South Carolina chick hatchery in similar bad shape got $12,500 and a Texas machine shop rang up $800,000 on the public till.

* * *

**STRIKES** have taken a sharp upward spurt, according to federal mediators. The daily rate was running between four and 12 until the second week of April when it shot up to 20 to 30 a day.

* * *

**GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE** demands constitute "management's new problem," in the opinion of the April 11 **Business Week.** "In auto, steel, aircraft, and rubber, management is already worrying about the seriousness" of the pressure for this concession. "Cost — and principle — have been employers' chief objections to annual wages and account for the widespread and tenacious resistance to this now-standard labor demand," explains this magazine of capitalist opinion.

* * *

**NEW YORK CITY** employees are putting real heat on City Hall, countering Mayor Impellitteri's proposals for cut-backs and mass lay-offs by demands for wage increases and broad benefits. The city firemen, incensed over repeated runarounds, threw a mass picket line of some 2,500 men in uniform around the mayor's office. They want a pay rise of $700 a year and want it now. Hundreds of city employes have appeared at City Hall in opposition to Impellitteri's program of unloading the city's financial crisis on the backs of city employes, and many union spokesmen have announced support for their fight.

* * *

**THE WORLD'S LARGEST** department store, R. H. Macy & Co. came to terms with 8,000 employes in New York after a one-day picket line put the squeeze on the giant outfit. The proposed settlement includes a wage increase, a pension plan, seniority rights, a higher basic minimum wage and other benefits.

* * *

**IN OAKLAND** two capitalist candidates for City Council in the current election have different planks on what to do about the atom bomb. One proposes a super highway into the Berkeley hills to facilitate evacuation. The other proposes a bomb shelter in every back yard. The highway advocate attacked his opponent for not considering the needs of all the people but ended up by asking his opponent for instructions on how to build the bomb shelter in his own back yard.

# N.Y. Housing Authority Fosters Race Bias

By Dave Cutler

The real-estate lobby, through its lackeys who run the New York City Housing Authority, has just struck a brutal blow at the struggle for Negro equality in the field of housing. A new revision of its priority system, by which the relative housing need of applicants for apartments in local public-housing projects is measured, was promulgated last month with the aim of reducing the opportunities for Negro and Puerto Rican families to escape from their miserable, overcrowded ghettoes.

Up until about the middle of 1950, the Authority had always followed a policy of assigning tenants to projects according to a general racial-quota system designed to preserve the existing racial patterns in the neighborhoods. However, as a result of the militant fight that was waged against the lily-white policy in Metropolitan Life Insurance's Stuyvesant Town, a law was enacted by the state legislature making it illegal in the selection of tenants for public and quasi-public housing to discriminate against any race, religion or nationality, or to take any of these factors into consideration in any way in the assignment of apartments; even to inquire the race, religion or national origin of an applicant was forbidden.

The clear provisions of this law did not prevent the Authority, nevertheless, from continuing to insist that the race of applicants be indicated on the folders made up for the applicant families at the Central Office interviews. And they used this information — where they succeeded in getting it — to "regulate" the racial composition of opening as well as established projects.

**When the overwhelming majority of the interviewing staff indignantly refused to be parties to this illegal swindle, the Authority finally capitulated and revised the interview form to eliminate all reference to race.**

While the Authority never did cease the strict application of the quota system in the non-subsidized, so-called middle-income, projects, the low-income projects from 1950 to the present have enjoyed in general fairly complete freedom from racial bias in the selection of tenants.

Since Negroes have, on the average, not only the lowest incomes but also the most acute housing problems, the result of this policy was that — outside of Negro-ghetto neighborhoods, where few white families were willing to go — the new projects in every part of the city wound up with approximately half their tenant bodies made up of Negro families, with a considerable proportion of Puerto Ricans.

### RENT SHARKS MOVE

But the Jim Crow real-estate interests would not take their defeat lying down, and began to exert pressure on the ward-heeling politicians who run the Housing Authority to do something about this "lamentable" state of affairs. But how? The state law was quite specific on this point. Finally a method was worked out.

Under the old priority system, families with children living in furnished rooms enjoyed the second highest priority, as far as housing need was concerned. Since such a large proportion of the Negro and Puerto Rican population of this city falls into this category, it is easy to see how so many of them got into the recently opened projects. The revised priority system, put into effect last month, places furnished-room families into the lowest category of housing need! Thus they will be the last to be reached.

**The fact that many needy white families will also have to suffer from this nefarious scheme means far less to the real-estate barons than the chance to strike a blow at the policy of equal opportunities for all in low-rent public housing.**

The Negro organizations must again mobilize their followers, together with their allies in the trade union movement and among the liberals, for another struggle to compel the strictest application of the anti-discrimination provisions of the state law and the selection of tenants on the basis of housing need alone.

## N.Y. Mothers Fight Threat To Day Care

By Miriam Carter

**NEW YORK, April 7 — Almost 2,000 working mothers and fathers packed the auditorium of the Ethical Culture School tonight to hear a report on their fight to maintain the city's day-care centers, which accommodate the children of working mothers. The Child Day Care program, which provides nursery care for 5,700 children in 107 nurseries, was threatened with extinction by Mayor Impellitteri, who had planned to cut out the entire day-care appropriation of $3,775,000.**

Two-thirds of the mothers who have children in the nurseries are the sole support of their families. Over 50% would be forced to go on relief if the program was discontinued.

The mothers, fathers and friends at the meeting sponsored by the Day Care Council and co-chaired by Stanley Isaacs, former Borough President of Manhattan, and Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer, of the wealthy copper family, were assured that the letter-writing campaign, visits to city officials and phone calls had caused the Mayor to restore day care to his proposed budget with only "minor economies." No child who is now taken care of under the program will be put out, and no nurseries will be closed down, Welfare Commissioner McCarthy told the meeting.

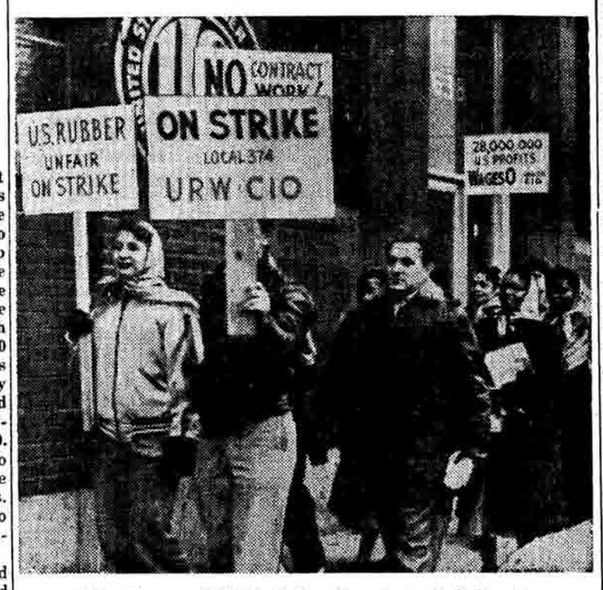
Many parents were concerned about steps to insure the safety of the day-care program during this interim period while the budget is being discussed. Parents asked what would happen to the day-care appropriation if the city turns down the Transit Authority. The Transit Authority is Governor Dewey's answer to the city's $173 million budget deficit. It is empowered to help balance the city budget by raising the subway fares to 15 or 20 cents from the present 10 cents.

All discussion was brusquely brushed aside by the chairman. In fact, the whole campaign to protect day care was marked by an inner struggle between those who wanted to limit the campaign to writing letters, sending telegrams, and getting resolutions from sympathetic organizations, and those, mostly among the parents themselves, who wanted to back these steps up with militant action.

In the course of the two weeks that this campaign was being waged, the Day Care Council, composed of two representatives from each nursery, was compelled to broaden parents' representation. **Five hundred mothers of the Winifred Wheeler Day Nursery in midtown Manhattan announced on March 27 that they were going to picket Gracie Mansion, the Mayor's residence.** A new association of parents, in the Bronx, was formed during the course of this fight.

The future of the Day Care Program is by no means settled. It hangs in the balance, as do all the other budget appropriations dealing with expansion of schools, hospitals, the 40-hour week for subway employees, playgrounds, etc., as the city administration tries desperately to figure out how they can place the burden of the deficit on the working class of the city and still survive politically.

## Win U.S. Rubber Strike




**Picket lines at 19 U.S. Rubber Co. plants, including the one above, in Chicago, helped win brief strike by United Rubber Workers (CIO). The walkout forced company to reopen 5-year welfare pact and grant improved insurance benefits.**

## WILLIAM McCOMISKEY

By V. R. Dunne

MINNEAPOLIS, April 11 — Comrade William McComiskey's death, Monday, April 6, marked the passing of a proletarian revolutionary fighter of more than average stature.

Bill McC, as he was known to thousands of rank-and-file militants, came to the party during the tense and fateful days of the truck-drivers strikes in 1934. He was one of the outstanding militants of the petroleum-drivers section.

His influence and leadership, however, ranged far beyond the confines of this, his own particular group.

Although illness at home was an ever-present problem in those days, Bill found time and energy to discharge his personal responsibilities and also to be daily, almost hourly, in the forefront of the union organization work. If he changed at all during the next decade, it was only in the direction of a better understanding of the international implications of the class struggle in America.

He learned swiftly the importance of the role of the Socialist Workers Party. During the days when the Tobin-Roosevelt combination engineered the indictment of and then the jailing of the SWP and Local 544 Teamsters leadership for their opposition to the Second World War, Bill stood out both in the mass movement and in the party as a comrade who knew how to fight to the end for principle. His record from the early days to the time of his death as a party activist and union militant is at once an inspiration to and an example for the young and not-so-young party comrade.

His friendly, smiling, generous devotion to the party and to the comrades in all the little and big things was matched by two other sides of Bill's character. He loved all class fighters in the ranks. He never doubted that the American workers would organize politically to fight and to win.

Bill hated the whole boss class. He had a real understanding of the political importance of this attitude. He believed that the way this could be best expressed was to build the Party, his Party, our Party. The major portion of the last 25 years of his life was thrown into the class battle.

Following a severe industrial accident three years ago, his great frame gave way to the assault of a complicated disease. His great heart also was finally stilled. Farewell Bill.

## What Reversal by Kremlin In Doctors Case Discloses

**(Continued from Page 1)**

shuk was an integral part of Stalin's purge.

Simultaneously the anti-Semitic, anti-nationalities campaign filled the columns of the Soviet press — day in and day out, until Stalin died. The line was drummed through — from the topmost echelons down to the ranks in factories, villages, schools. It was notably aimed at Soviet women. Hence the choice of a woman-doctor as a "patriot-vigilance symbol." Hence, too, the choice of a woman Professor, N. A. Popova as one of the intended victims.

This aspect of Stalin's last purge — and by this token also of Beria's counter-purge — has been little noticed. Let us recall in this connection the role Soviet women play in the new Soviet conditions.

Millions of women are engaged in Soviet industry and agriculture. The actual figures of "women workers," especially the servants, are jealously guarded by the Kremlin. But the growing role women play in every sphere of Soviet life is indicated by a few figures the bureaucracy has released. For example, the number of women specialists "graduating from the highest schools comprises today more than 900,000. Over 1,200,000 women are studying in the highest and in the special middle-grade educational institutions. . . More than a million women, including 220,000 women doctors, are working in polyclinics, hospitals, dispensaries, sanatoriums and rest homes." **(Pravda**, March 1, 1953.)

The spread of industrial and cultural advancement among Soviet women is indicated clearly enough by these figures. Oppositional moods find a fertile field among them, as among workers and the youth generally. Stalin's purge confirmed it.

To cite only one other case, on Feb. 6 **Pravda** announced the arrest of four Soviet academicians. One of them, S. D. Gurevich was identified as "a veteran follower of Leon Trotsky"; another, a woman, was identified as E. A. Taratuta, "former employee of one of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR." About the fate of these and other victims of Stalin-Ignatiev-Ryumin, Beria remains silent. His counter-purge, apart from settling personal scores and refurbishing the secret police, pursues exactly the same ends as Stalin's last purge, and that is to try to crush all political opposition to the intolerable rule of the bureaucratic oligarchy.

## DISTRICT 65 VOTES TO REAFFILIATE WITH CIO; NO OPPOSITION TO MOVE

By C. Thomas

**NEW YORK, April 11 — The second national convention of the Independent Distributive, Processing & Office Workers union, voted unanimously today to authorize its officers to press negotiations now in progress to conclude an agreement to reaffiliate with the CIO. This was the main business before the convention. The resolution on reaffiliation was adopted without opposition.**

The DPO, formerly the Distributive Workers Union, consisting chiefly of District 65 in New York, left the CIO in 1948 prior to the expulsion of the Stalinist-controlled unions by that body. The present organization was formed in 1950 through a fusion of District 65 with the former Food, Tobacco & Allied Unions and the United Office and Professional Union. The leadership of District 65 subsequently split with the Stalinists and after a fierce internal struggle ousted the leadership of the FTA and UOP and consolidated their control over the new union.

This development led inevitably to the first moves to explore the possibility of reentering the CIO. The reports to the convention disclosed the predicament in which the union found itself after leaving the CIO. As one of the unions identified with the Stalinist group expelled from the CIO, it became the target of a ferocious red-baiting campaign. Its leadership was harassed by Congressional witch-hunting committees. Its membership was raided by both AFL and CIO. Its isolation, with a membership dispersed in many small units, made it vulnerable to attack from the employers, the government and rival unions. These factors impelled the leadership to seek the needed strength which affiliation to the CIO would bring and undoubtedly entered as a factor in their split with the Stalinists.

### LINE CHANGES

When the proposal was made last year to explore the possibility of affiliation to the CIO, the Stalinists, while contending they were for "unity" in principle, insisted on imposing such demands as would have made affiliation impossible. Since then the Stalinist line has changed. The change was heralded by the publication in the Daily Worker last December of the "Draft Resolution on the Situation Growing Out of the Presidential Elections," submitted by the National Committee of the Communist Party.

The "Draft Resolution" repudiated the previous line of building the Progressive Party and calls for a return to the policy of working within the Democratic party. This was one of the main issues over which the Stalinist-led unions split with the CIO. What they mean by the new line was indicated when George Morris, Stalinist "labor expert" writing in the **Daily Worker**, hailed Reuther's "Political Action" resolution adopted by the recent CIO United Automobile Workers convention. This resolution calls for the support of "liberal" politicians in the two capitalist political parties.

### REFLECTED IN UNIONS

This new political turn, like all such turns in the past, is being reflected in the Stalinist trade union policy. In his report to the DPO convention on the status of the negotiations, for example, secretary-treasurer David Livingston recalled how the union leadership had been "denounced by the Communist Party" last year for the proposal to explore the question of affiliation with CIO. Now, he said, the same people are clamoring to "take anything you can get," pay any price, but get back in even if you have to crawl.

**The union leadership, Livingston declared, rejects the "pay any price" approach. There are certain minimum requirements which must be fulfilled, he added, which would protect the interests of the membership and advance the progress of the union.**

### NEXT STEP

According to Livingston, the next step in the negotiations for affiliation will be taken on April 23 at a conference called at the office of Louis Hollander, New York state president of the CIO, who has been designated by Reuther to handle the negotiations. There are now three unions involved in the negotiations. They are: The United Department Store Workers, with jurisdiction over the huge Macy Store in New York; the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers, formerly the parent body; and the DPO.

The negotiations will proceed on the basis of a proposal made by Hollander that the CIO issue a new charter setting up an international union composed of the membership of the three locals. Representatives of the three groups will meet to work out in detail the problems of structure, leadership, etc. If agreement can be reached between the official representatives of the unions involved it is estimated the new organization will number some 150,000 members.

## Witch-Hunters Close U.S. to Chaplin

Charles Chaplin, one of the world's greatest artists and beloved in every corner of the globe, has been driven by the Department of Justice witch-hunters to accept exclusion from the United States.

Chaplin, a non-citizen, had spent 40 years in America during which he brought the highest renown to American motion pictures.

The Justice Dept. announced that it would institute proceedings to prevent his re-entry if he returned from Europe to which he left for a tour several months ago.

He surrendered his re-entry permit to State Dept. officials last week in Switzerland.

## Gov't Give Away

Synthetic rubber plants, built during the war by the government at a cost of some $550,000,000 to the public are to be turned over to Big Business at knock-down prices. Eisenhower signed the message to Congress recommending the give-away between rounds of golf at Augusta, Ga.

**An increase of 496 Korea casualties made the figures last week the second highest since Nov. 19. The total to date now stands at 133,463.**